

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 ISLAMA 06842 01 OF 02 051256Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----055825 051301Z /46

O R 051138Z JUL 77
FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2639

INFO AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
AMEMBASSY KABUL
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
AMCONSUL KARACHI
AMCONSUL LAHORE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 ISLAMABAD 6842

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, PFOR, PK, US
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR'S CALL ON PRIMIN BHUTTO

1. PRIMIN BHUTTO SUMMONED ME FOR HALF-HOUR MEETING AT HIS OFFICE AT 0100 (LOCAL) ON MORNING OF JULY 4. ONLY HIS NOTE-TAKER WAS PRESENT. I HAD WRITTEN HIM REQUESTING OPPORTUNITY FOR COURTESY CALL, IN EXPECTATION THAT AFTER SUCH CALL HE WOULD BE FREE TO ATTEND EMBASSY JULY 4 RECEPTION, AS HE HAS USUALLY DONE IN PAST. HE HAD BEEN BUSY IN PAST DAYS WITH NEGOTIATIONS WITH OPPOSITION PNA AGREEMENT TO HOLD NEW ELECTIONS, AND DISCUSSIONS WERE STILL IN PROGRESS THAT NIGHT. ALTHOUGH BILLED AS COURTESY CALL, WE GINGERLY ADDRESSED SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES.

2. BHUTTO DESCRIBED SOME OF THE UPS AND DOWNS IN PAST US/PAK RELATIONS. HE THOUGHT THAT EACH TIME OF TENSION HAD BEEN FOLLOWED BY RESUMPTION OF CLOSE AND FRIENDLY CONTACTS. HE WAS SURE THAT BASIC FACTORS THAT UNITE
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THE TWO COUNTRIES WOULD RISE TO FORE AGAIN AND THAT BOTH SIDES SHOULD HAVE PATIENCE AND UNDERSTANDING TO SURMOUNT THE FACTORS THAT TEMPORARILY DIVIDE US. HE REFERRED TO THE "PASSIONS OF POLITICS", WHICH HE SAID WOULD REMAIN HIGH UNTIL ELECTIONS ARE HELD, PERHAPS OCT. 7. HOWEVER, HE WANTED TO GIVE SOLEMN ASSURANCE THAT IF HIS PARTY WON, WHICH HE WAS CONFIDENT IT WOULD, HE WOULD SEE TO IT THAT

RELATIONS ARE FULLY RESTORED TO WARM AND FRIENDLY STATE.

3. I SAID I WAS GLAD TO HEAR HIS STATEMENT. PRESIDENT CARTER AND SECY VANCE HAD AUTHORIZED ME TO EMPHASIZE THE IMPORTANCE THE USG PLACES ON THE SECURITY AND STABILITY OF PAKISTAN, AND ON CLOSE AND FRIENDLY RELATIONS. WE WOULD LIKE TO PUT THE PAST BEHIND US AND MOVE TOWARD A RESUMPTION OF THE FRIENDLY TIES THAT HAVE CHARACTERIZED OUR RELATIONS IN THE PAST.

4. BHUTTO SAID HE HAD ANOTHER POINT HE WISHED TO MAKE, IN REGARD TO INDIA. HE WAS IN NO SENSE AN INDO-PHOBE AND US RELATIONS WITH INDIA WERE ESSENTIALLY THE BUSINESS OF THE US. HOWEVER HE WOULD INVITE US TO CONSIDER THAT PAKISTAN HAD BEEN A FRIEND AND ALLY, WHILE INDIA HAS ALWAYS BEEN NON-ALIGNED. THUS A POLICY OF EVEN-HANDEDNESS DID NOT NECESSARILY SUIT THE SPECIAL CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE SUB-CONTINENT. HE OBSERVED THAT THE USG PAID SPECIAL ATTENTION TO THE NEEDS OF TAIWAN WHILE TRYING TO GET BETTER RELATIONS WITH THE PRC. HE HOPED THAT IN MATTERS SUCH AS MILITARY SALES TO PAKISTAN, INDIA'S SENSITIVITIES WOULD NOT BE OVERRIDING.

5. I SAID I THOUGHT THE STATEMENT I HAD MADE OF PRESIDENT'S AND SECRETARY'S VIEWS SPOKE FOR THEMSELVES. I COULD NOW, OR AT SOME LATER TIME, RESPOND IN MORE DEPTH TO HIS

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OBSERVATIONS ABOUT INDIA.

6. HE DID NOT INVITE FURTHER COMMENT, SO I RAISED ANOTHER TOPIC. I SAID PRESIDENT CARTER HAD BEEN SURPRISED AND DISTURBED AT THE UNFOUNDED CHARGES OF INTERFERENCE IN PAKISTAN'S DOMESTIC AFFAIRS. THERE WAS NO FOUNDATION FOR SUCH ALLEGATIONS, AND THEY WERE VERY DISTURBING. I WANTED PRIMIN TO KNOW, WITH UTMOST SERIOUSNESS, THAT USG HAD NO PLAN OR INTENTION, AND HAD TAKEN NO ACTION WHATEVER, TO INTERFERE IN ANY WAY IN DOMESTIC AFFAIRS OF PAKISTAN.

7. BHUTTO RESPONDED WITH RAMBLING REPLY THAT HE HAD ALWAYS HAD GREAT RESPECT FOR USA, THAT PRES JOHNSON HAD BEEN ANGRY WITH HIM FOR PROMOTING FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH PRC, THAT BHUTTO LEFT OFFICE AS FOREIGN MINISTER, BUT ON HIS RETURN AS PRESIDENT IN 1971 HE HAD ACTIVELY PROMOTED GOOD RELATIONS WITH USG. IF NEW ELECTIONS ARE HELD, AND IF HE WAS ELECTED AGAIN, HE WOULD WORK TOWARD RESTORATION OF CLOSE RELATIONS. I COULD DISCUSS THE ALLEGATIONS OF USG INTERFERENCE WITH FONMIN AZIZ AHMED IN MORE DETAIL; FONMIN WAS BETTER ABLE THAN BHUTTO TO DISCUSS SUCH MATTERS.

8. I SAID I WOULD BE WILLING TO DISCUSS WHATEVER PRIMIN OR FONMIN WISHED TO DISCUSS. HOWEVER IT SEEMED TO ME THAT DIFFERENCES ON THIS POINT OF ALLEGED USG INTERFERENCE WERE SO GREAT AND MISUNDERSTANDINGS SO MASSIVE THAT I DOUBTED THAT FURTHER DISCUSSIONS DURING TIME OF POLITICAL TENSIONS COULD DO MORE THAN PROMOTE CONFRONTATION. PERHAPS WE HAD BETTER WAIT UNTIL SOME LATER TIME TO TRY TO GET TO THE BOTTOM OF THE MISUNDERSTANDINGS. BHUTTO NODDED VIGOROUSLY, AND LEFT IT AT THAT.

9. WE CLOSED THE MEETING WITH EXPRESSIONS OF MUTUAL DESIRE TO BUILD CLOSE AND CONFIDENTIAL PERSONAL RELATIONS, AS HE HAD HAD WITH AMB BYROADE AND OTHERS OF MY PREDECESSORS. HE CONFIDENTIAL

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INVITED ME TO COME TO HIM AT ANY TIME I WISHED. HE SAID HE WOULD BE ATTENDING MY JULY 4TH RECEPTION IN A FEW HOURS.

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-----055952 051303Z /46
O R 051138Z JUL 77
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2640
INFO AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 ISLAMABAD 6842

EXDIS

10. SOME TEN HOURS LATER, AT NOONTIME RECEPTION AT MY

RESIDENCE, BOTH PRESIDENT CHAUDHRY AND PRIMIN BHUTTO ATTENDED, WITH PRESIDENT RESPONDING TO MY TOAST. THIS IS HIGHLY UNUSUAL SINCE GENERALLY ONLY ONE OF THE TWO MAKES AN APPEARANCE EVEN AT THE NATIONAL DAY CELEBRATIONS OF THE MAJOR POWERS. THERE WAS ALSO GOOD TURNOUT OF GOVERNMENT MINISTERS AND MILITARY CHIEFS AT RECEPTION.

11. COMMENT: NEWS TODAY OF DETENTION OF GOVT AND OPPOSITION LEADERS, INCLUDING BHUTTO, OBVIOUSLY CHANGES SIGNIFICANCE OF FOREGOING. HOWEVER NO-ONE CAN COUNT BHUTTO OUT PERMANENTLY. NIGHT TIME MEETING WAS, I FELT, A GOOD BEGINNING IN THAT BOTH PARTIES AVOIDED CREATING CONFRONTATION. HE SEEMED TIRED, AS HE CERTAINLY MUST HAVE BEEN, AND WAS NOT AS SCINTILLATING AS I UNDERSTAND HE CAN BE. THERE WAS SOME ADROIT USE OF IRONY AND A FEW JOKES, BUT NOT AT THE LEVEL OF WHICH HE IS CAPABLE. NOTABLE POINTS ARE:

1. BHUTTO GAVE IMPLIED WARNING THAT IN ELECTION CAMPAIGN
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PPP WOULD, AS HE HAD INDICATED BEFORE, MAKE SOME USE OF ANTI-US CHARGES.

2. BHUTTO IMPLIED A BID FOR US SUPPORT BY PROMISING THAT IF HE IS ELECTED HE WILL RESTORE GOOD RELATIONS WITH USG.

3. MISSING FROM CONVERSATION WAS ANY MENTION OF THE REPROCESSING ISSUE, WHICH BHUTTO FULLY UNDERSTANDS IS THE MOST DIFFICULT ISSUE BETWEEN US.

4. ALSO MISSING WAS ANY MENTION OF CENTO OR ANY THREAT OF WITHDRAW FROM IT.

HUMMEL

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